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CONTEMPORARY DYNAMICS OF RESIDENTIAL PRACTICES AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE GLUI AND GLANA SAN

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ABSTRACT With the progress of sedentarisation policies in southern Africa, it has become difficult for San hunter-gatherers to live in freely established mobile residential units, called camps (Tanaka, 1980), as they once did. In the current situation, without creating a camp as an actual space for face-to-face interaction, how have the San reorganised their social relationships and their “belonging consciousness (Sugawara, 1988)”? This question forms the focus of this paper. From the analysis of data of residential practices among Glui- and Glana-speaking San at a resettlement site in the Central Kalahari area of Botswana, it was concluded that relations based on the experience of previously shared camps frequently are still at the core of existing social relationships, despite the fact that the residential setting has significantly changed. Simultaneously, the flexibility of the forms of social grouping of the Glui and Glana is also demonstrated. This flexibility contributes to ameliorating tensions within the new community at the resettlement site.

Key Words: Central Kalahari; Botswana; Camp; Resettlement; Food sharing; Sedentarisation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The residential practices of the San hunter-gatherers of Southern Africa have changed drastically in the last half a century. While their society has been traditionally characterised by their mobile lifestyle and small flexible residential groups (Barnard, 1992), today, as a consequence of the policy adopted by nation states, most of the San live in settlements or villages.

In the Central Kalahari area of Botswana, the Glui- and Glana-speaking San traditionally led nomadic lives. It was reported that the mobility of the Glui and Glana was relatively high compared to other San groups, and that the composition of residential groups was fairly flexible (Hitchcock & Bartram, 1998). However, nowadays their residential conditions have changed drastically. Their current total population is estimated at about 4,000 (Cassidy, 2001), and most of them are registered as residents of one of the five government-planned settlements. Each settlement has a population of 300–1,500 and is located outside their traditional living area, which is now the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR).

The traditional mobile residential patterns and flexible social organisation of the Glui and Glana were elucidated in the 1950–60s by two pioneering anthropological studies, authored by Silberbauer (1981) and Tanaka (1980). However, there is considerable incongruity between the views of the two authors on residence and social organisation of the Glui and Glana. As summarised by Izumi

(2006: 61–63), Silberbauer, emphasising “band ideology”, assumed that the social organisation of the Glui and Glana was based on discrete band units with a defined territory. In contrast, Tanaka, paying more attention to the movement of individuals, emphasised a high fluidity of grouping that could not be regularised in terms of a definite territorial boundary. Thus, he adopted a neutral term, “camp”, rather than “band”, to designate a temporary residential group that usually included several nuclear families.

Attempting to solve the above incongruity, Sugawara (1988) pointed out that Silberbauer (1981), as well as Heinz (1972) and Marshall (1976), were confident of the band as a visible entity, while Tanaka (1980) and Lee (1979) regarded it as inappropriate to apply the band concept to a residential group with fluid membership. Furthermore, Sugawara noted that “The above inconsistencies concerning the band concept are primarily due to confusion about the level of a visible residential unit with that of ‘belonging consciousness’ or group identity. At the level of the residential unit, Lee and Tanaka are right in saying that the camp cannot be regarded as the embodiment of the band as a sociological entity. However, this does not mean that the grouping pattern of the San is characterised as completely amorphous. On the contrary, as Tanaka clearly demonstrates, a hierarchical cluster organisation can be abstracted from the complex process of fission and fusion of groups” (Sugawara, 1988: 206). Thus, Sugawara emphasised the importance of knowing how the high fluidity in the camp membership and the cluster organisation of co-residence were manifested at the level of the “belonging consciousness”, defined as “the range of people who recognise one another as potential co-residents” (Sugawara, 1988: 206) and how the recent sedentarisation had influenced this consciousness.

Compared to the 1980s when Sugawara conducted his research, his point is of increasing relevance for considering the ongoing issues concerning land and residence among current San societies. In the 1980s, although the settlement scheme planned by the government had already been launched, the Glui and Glana were still able to form mobile camps inside the CKGR. However, since the end of the 1990s, under the governmental resettlement scheme, they have been relocated outside the CKGR and, at the new resettlement sites, scheduled residential plots were allocated to respective families. Since then, at least officially, the San have not been allowed to live in freely-established camps as they used to. According to Tanaka (1980), the important social unit of daily living for the Glui and Glana used to be only the camp, and they did not have any other social groupings such as lineage or clan. In the current situation, without forming a camp as an actual space for face-to-face interaction, how do the Glui and Glana reorganise their social relationships and the “belonging consciousness”? This theme forms the focus of this paper.

Following the line of Sugawara’s thinking, this paper aims to elucidate the changes and continuity of the residential patterns and social groupings among the relocated Glui and Glana. First, a historical background of the residential patterns among the Glui and Glana is described. Subsequently, using data collected during my continuous period of field research from 2000 to 2012 in one of the largest resettlement sites, Kx’oensakene, the current residential practices and social

grouping of the G!ui and G!ana are analysed. Finally, the discussion focuses on various features of recent social relationships among the G!ui and G!ana, and their new dimensions.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS STUDIES ON THE RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF THE G!UI AND G!ANA

2-1. Brief History of the G!ui and G!ana in the Central Kalahari

In the 1950s, when the first anthropological study on the G!ui and G!ana San in Central Kalahari was conducted by Silberbauer, they relied primarily on hunting and gathering and moved frequently. In 1961, based on the recommendations of Silberbauer as a Bushman Research Officer, the colonial government decided to establish the CKGR, situated in the middle of the country and covering an area of 52,000 km². The main purpose of the reserve was to provide protection for the wildlife and the traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyle of the local San (Silberbauer, 1965).

After Botswana gained independence in 1966, the new government launched the Bushman Development Programme in 1974 in recognition that the San (Bushman) were the most marginalised group in the country and required special assistance. In 1978, after being renamed the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP), the target of this programme was extended to include not only the San but also all people living outside organised villages or settlements. The RADP encouraged these remote-area dwellers, known as RADs, among whom the San were the majority, to relocate to government-planned settlements with water supplies, schools, clinics, and income-generating projects. As a result of this expensive project, by 2003, more than 70% of the San in Botswana were living in 64 RADs settlements (Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis, 2003).

The programme that was implemented for the San living in the CKGR was one of numerous RADP projects. In the CKGR, the RADP was initiated in 1979, and the G!ui and G!ana began to adopt a sedentary lifestyle in a government-planned settlement called Xade. The RADP encouraged the residents to raise goats, farm, work for wages, and sell handicrafts and, at the same time, they managed to continue hunting and gathering activities (Tanaka, 1987). Furthermore, in 1986, the government decided that the residents of the CKGR should be relocated outside the reserve to provide them with access to better social services, and to ensure the protection of the fauna and flora within the reserve.

The announcement of the relocation programme coincided with the time when international organisations and NGOs began to pay attention to the issue of indigenous peoples in Africa. Immediately after the relocation was officially announced, international NGOs initiated protest movements and provided financial and technical support to establish regionally-based NGOs (Pelican & Maruyama, 2015). Despite the attempts of many local, regional, and international NGOs, the launch of the relocation programme went ahead in 1997. In 2002, the government stopped

providing services such as water and medical care to the CKGR, and prevented its former residents from returning to their homeland. Between 1997 and 2002, approximately 3,000 people were relocated to the Kx'oensakene, Kaudwane, and Xere resettlement sites.

After the implementation of this relocation, the various NGOs supporting the San rallied to form a negotiation team to press their claims to the Botswana government. Finally, they decided to take their case to the Botswana High Court on behalf of the displaced San individuals, which attracted considerable public attention. After a long process, on December 13, 2006, the High Court of Botswana ruled that the government had illegally evicted the San from the CKGR. However, the ruling did not obligate the government to provide social services in the CKGR, and the government gave only the 189 people who filed the lawsuit the automatic right of return. Because of this, only limited numbers of former CKGR residents decided to return to the CKGR, while most of them are currently living in the resettlements.

2-2. Previous Studies on Residential Patterns and Social Grouping before the Relocation

In the 1960s, the Glui and Glana San living in the CKGR moved every several weeks within a range of some 50 km², repeatedly splitting up and regrouping, which was indispensable for their hunting and gathering subsistence. For example, in 1969, it was recorded that one family changed its residence ten times during a period of 7 months (Tanaka, 1980: 79). The total distance they had moved was 250 km, and the range was about 50 km². Their residential unit, which was named a "camp" by Tanaka (1980), consisted of 20–80 related people, usually connected by bilaterally traced kinship or affinal relationships, and functioned as the basic unit for food sharing and cooperation. However, during the frequent moves, the camp did not have any fixed membership, but had extremely diverse compositions. It had little territorial exclusiveness, so that the residents of the camp welcomed whoever visited them.

While Tanaka (1980) reported that it was difficult to recognise any clear-cut boundary and exclusive membership of the residential unit, his data demonstrated that, far from random grouping, there existed a distinctive tendency toward co-residence among the particular families that shared a certain nomadic range. Several related families tended to form a relatively enduring "cluster of families" throughout the process of group fission and fusion. The "cluster of families" frequently made camps with certain other clusters but not with others. Tanaka named the larger aggregation of the adjacent clusters that often formed the same camp an "area group". The "area group" had its own core area, but its members did not tie themselves permanently to a fixed segment of land. During his research period in 1967–68, Tanaka found that there existed three different "area groups" in the Xade area of the western CKGR (Tanaka, 1980).

The Glui and Glana were first sedentarised in 1979 when the RADP was initiated at Xade. After the start of the RADP, approximately 400–600 people lived around the borehole drilled in Xade, while the permanent population of this area

had been about 200 until the 1970s. Approximately 100 people immigrated to Xade from the southern CKGR, 150 from the eastern CKGR, and 70 from the Ghanzi ranching area (Tanaka, 2014). Most of these were born in Xade or had relatives there, but had left to live in the other areas and returned at the start of the RADP.

In 1990, roughly a decade after the start of the RADP, 45 semi-permanent camps were scattered around the Xade borehole (Imamura-Hayaki, 1996). Xade became one of the most populated settlements for the Glui and Glana. Compared to the spatial distribution of camps that had been established during the pre-RADP age, camps were located closer to one another as a natural consequence of concentration in a small space. The distance between camps was reduced to 100–150 meters, while the locations of most camps still changed several times a year.

However, a number of studies revealed that the people did not intermingle in Xade, but maintained boundaries between residential group units that had been predominant during their former nomadic life. Tanaka (1987) found that each group occupied a distinctive area: The Ghanzi ranching area group, although they split into small subgroups, occupied the northeastern part of the settlement, while those who came from the southern part of the CKGR occupied the southern part of the settlement; i.e., Glui and Glana who once lived in an area of 100 km² came to live in an area of 1 km² without changing their relative positioning of the groups.

According to Ikeya (1994), separation in the use of space was also seen in the choice of hunting ground by the residents of each camp. While hunters changed their hunting grounds in accordance with the fluctuating distribution of wild animals, which was largely influenced by annual variability in rainfall, there appeared to be some kind of agreement among the hunters of different camps to keep their hunting grounds separate.

Nakagawa (1997) and Nonaka (2014) reported that a certain protocol prevailed that made this separation possible, which became especially salient when several camps gathered around one water point, known as a “pan”. The side of a camp that looked toward its water point was regarded as its “face”, and the opposite side of the “face” was called the “back” side of the camp and was used as the hunting and gathering ground. When the Glui and Glana chose their camp location, they are not supposed to cross the water point nor locate directly in front or behind other camps. In this way, different groups were able to use separate parts of the space and coexist peacefully.

Sugawara (1988) considered the different aspects of social grouping at the Xade settlement. Examining the social relationships of visiting between camps, he noted distinctive discontinuity among social networks in the Xade community. He concluded that there existed a clear gap in the boundary that distinguished those who could recognise each other as potential co-residents and those who could not. Sugawara emphasised that the boundary did not correspond with the linguistic boundary between Glui, Glana or non-San groups but, rather, with the traditional home area before sedentarisation to Xade.

These studies clearly show that the Glui and the Glana social grouping is flexible but retains organisation; i.e., even under the RADP settlement scheme in

Xade, their residential practices have been firmly based on the grouping patterns of their former nomadic days.

2-3. Changes Caused by the Resettlement

The setting of the residences of the Glui and Glana has been drastically changed by the 1997 resettlement program in the CKGR. The largest resettlement site, Kx'oensakene, is situated approximately 70 km from Xade, and 100 km from Ghanzi, the district capital. Kx'oensakene and its surrounding area lie outside the Glui and Glana's familiar area where they used to carry out their nomadic hunting and gathering way of life. Kx'oensakene has the facilities found in typical government settlements in Botswana and, under the development programme, the residents are required to change their principal means of livelihood from hunting and gathering to wage labour and agropastoralism. The population was estimated at 1,100 in 2000, and 1,500 in 2003, and consists mainly of the Glui and Glana. Therefore, this settlement is the largest Glui and Glana community and contains approximately one third of the total population. Historically, they have had no historical experience of living so densely.

Among the numerous influences of the resettlement, the change in residential patterns had the most serious effects on Glui and Glana society. As previous studies have shown, the mobile residential unit, the camp, formerly played a critical role in their social life, but, nowadays, it has become impossible for them to form camps as they used to. At the resettlement site, which covers about 3 km², each household was allocated a fixed residential plot of 25 m × 40 m, arranged in a grid. Each numbered plot was allocated to the relocatees in the order of their arrival with no regard to the previously existing social relationships in the CKGR. Officers only took into consideration in which of the six wards the applicants wished to live. According to the Ghanzi land board documents, the residential areas were subdivided into six wards, namely "Glui", "Glana", "Kgala-gadi", "Molapo", "Mothomelo and Kikao", and "Metsiamano". The former three wards were named after "ethnic groups" and were set up for those who relocated in 1997, while the latter three wards were for the 2001 relocatees, and named after the areas from which the residents were relocated. Because of this residential plot system, the Glui and Glana were unable to form their traditional style camps or practice their once-customary forms of migration. In the following section, it will be examined how the Glui and Glana have coped with this unfamiliar residential setting and reorganised their social grouping.

3. RESIDENTIAL PRACTICES AMONG THE KX'OENSAKENE RESIDENTS

3-1. "Living Beautifully" in Bush Dwellings

Since 2000, some of the residents have left the allocated residential plots and created informal mobile dwellings in the surrounding bush land. By May 2001,

there were 138 adults in 28 such groups, which accounted for one quarter of all adults in Kx'oensakene (Maruyama, 2003). The number of these new bush dwellings outside the resettlement site has increased and they have emerged as the new residences. In November 2003, 164 adults lived in 37 groups outside the resettlement site. Since then, more than 30 bush dwellings have continued to exist to date.

One of the main factors motivating the Glui and Glana to move away from the resettlement site was the difficulty of access to natural resources. Whereas those who remained in the resettlement lived from wage labour and income-generating programmes provided by the government, in the bush dwellings, residents engaged primarily in hunting and gathering together with farming and tending of livestock (Maruyama, 2003).

Another important factor was the change in residential patterns. At the resettlement site, the houses formed rows and were close to one another because of the residential plot system. In contrast, outside the site, the houses were arranged in a circle, and spaced further apart. Furthermore, and importantly, the bush residential groups reverted to the groupings that had been prevalent before resettlement. Among all 21 bush dwellings existing in December 2000, there were 16 groups consisting of several families. 14 of these groups consisted of members who had previously resided in the same camp in Xade settlement, just before the relocation. Thus, the bush dwellings in Kx'oensakene can, at least partially, be regarded as an epitome of the Glui and Glana's persistent intention to recover the former grouping pattern that existed before relocation.

Similar to the former camps, the bush dwellings functioned as a basic social unit for food sharing. The food sharing of family M-N living in a bush dwelling was observed for one week in 2001. M and his wife N, in their 40–50s were living in the dwelling with five of M's adult relatives and their grandchildren.

They engaged mainly in gathering wild vegetables and tending livestock. An analysis of the research data of cooking and serving of food observed during this period showed that this family shared cooked and uncooked food a total of 81 times, 69% of which were with those living in this same bush dwelling. To demonstrate a second case, family D-A living in another bush dwelling with six relatives and their children shared food 101 times over the course of one week, 81% of which occasions were within the same bush dwelling.

In addition, this social relationship is clearly reflected in the arrangement of the location of the houses. The house location depends on the relative locations of the other houses, and reflects the social distances among the residents. As shown in Fig. 1, next to family M-N's house, were located the houses of family A and family B, who frequently shared food with family M-N. Other houses, including several houses in a neighbouring bush dwelling, had a lower frequency of food sharing with family M-N, with increasing spatial distance from family M-N's house. A similar correlation between the location of the houses and the frequency of sharing was also observed in family D-A's bush dwelling.

In paying attention to how the Glui and Glana decided the location of their bush dwellings, it became clear that they took the social distances into consideration as a critical determining factor. Most of them established their bush dwell-

ings among familiar others who had lived closely with them before the resettlement. In addition, they preferred the directional side of the land that they had lived in before; those from the eastern CKGR moved to the eastern part of the resettlement site, those from the southern CKGR to the southern part, and likewise for the other areas. As a result, bush dwellings were scattered around the resettlement site conforming to the spatial distribution pattern of the Glui and

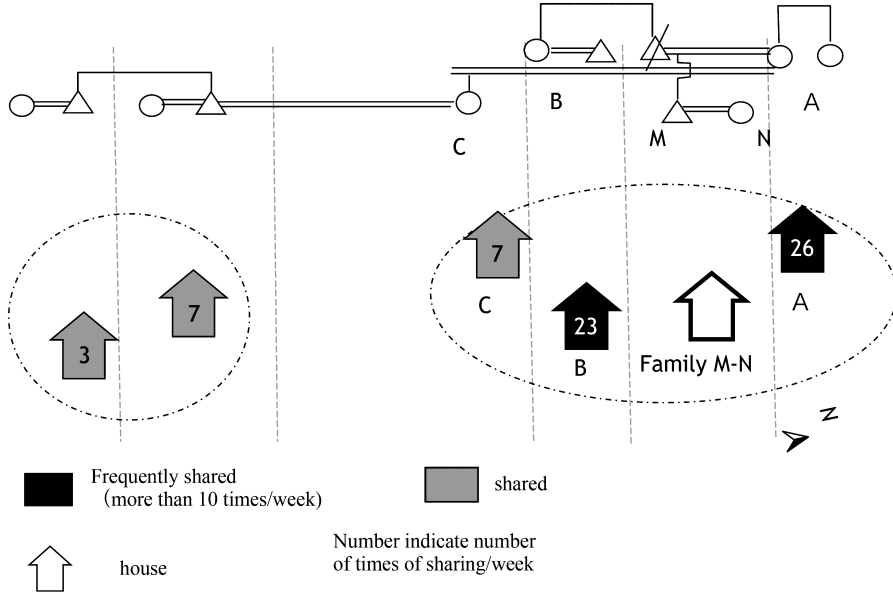


Fig. 1. Food sharing of family M-N and their house location
Source: Field research between 18/2/2001 and 25/2/2001

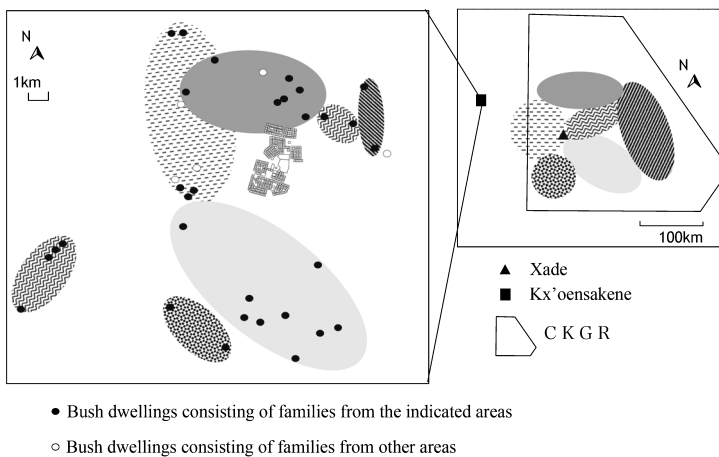


Fig. 2. Spatial distributions of bush dwellings in 2003 and their home in the CKGR
Source: GPS data from Nov. 2003

Glana's nomadic days. Studies on the main home area of the founders of each bush dwelling showed that the dwellings re-established the original relative positions (Fig. 2), just as had been observed in the previous migration to Xade (Tanaka, 1987; Nakagawa, 1997).

The living style of the bush dwellings was, according to their residents, "beautiful" or "well-organised". This means that their social distances were reflected in the actual residence order, and in that setting, they could maintain the relationships based on those of the former co-residents of the camps before the relocation.

3-2. "Disorder" of Residential Plots in the Resettlement Site

Even for those who have remained in the residential plots, the social relationships based on the former co-residence experiences play a key role in their social life, and sometimes their importance is more visible in the resettlement site than in the bush dwellings, as shown in an observational study on the food sharing of the family of K and his wife, O, living in Plot 9 in the "Glana" ward in 2000 and 2003.

According to this study, which took place over a period of 1 month, this family shared cooked and uncooked foods with 41 adults in 2000, and with 52 adults in 2003. These numbers were less than 10% of all adults living in Kx'oensakene. Focussing on their neighbouring plots (Fig. 3), the family frequently shared food only with a limited number of families, in particular plots, both in 2000 and 2003. In contrast, they did not share any food with other neighbours in the same "Glana" ward. It was found that these latter neighbours had never experienced camping together with the family K-O before the relocation.

To analyse the historical background of the sharing relationships of family K-O in more detail, those who shared with the family with above average frequency in 2000 and/or 2003, and those who shared with the family in both research periods of 2000 and 2003, were regarded as "important sharing partners" of the family, and their past experiences of their residential groupings were examined.

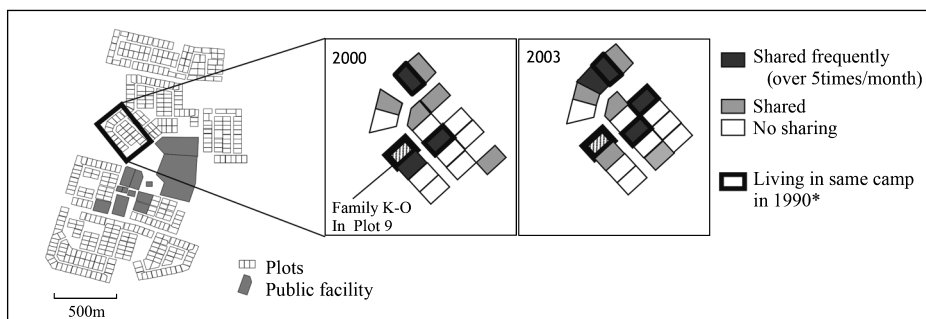


Fig. 3. The number of times of food sharing between family K-O and their neighboring plots dwellers

Source: Field research between 16/11/2000 and 15/12/2000, *Imamura (personal communication)

For the analysis of the Xade RADP settlement days, data of all 768 members of all 48 camps that existed at Xade in 1990, obtained by Imamura (Imamura: personal communication), were used. As a result, it was revealed that among the 27 “important sharing partners”, 8 persons who lived in the same camp with family K-O in 1990 were still frequently sharing with the family during my research period. The rate of sharing with the 8 persons, shown as “member of family K-O’s camp in 1990” in Fig. 4, accounted for 60% of the total of family K-O’s sharing during the two research periods.

To elucidate the relationships between family K-O and their “important sharing partners” before the start of the RADP at Xade, the histories of all members of family K-O’s camp in 1990 were traced. The results showed that the main members of the camp were recorded by Tanaka (1980) in 1967 as members of “area group III” of Xade, along with their spouses and children. The total sharing with the members of “area group III” and their spouses and children was about 80% of all sharing events of family K-O for the research periods in 2000 and 2003 (Fig. 4).

From this analysis, it can be concluded that the Glui and Glana somehow retain the continuity in their grouping patterns from their former nomadic days, even after sedentarisation in Xade and relocation to Kx’oensakene. It should be noted that they can no longer live in the same camp but reside separately in different residential plots and bush dwellings. However, they continue to share food with those who formerly lived together and, concurrently, the relationships based on former camp groupings have been maintained by the food sharing.

Living next to someone who does not share food is an uncomfortable situation for most of the residents in Kx’oensakene. Although the residential plots are arranged in orderly rows, many of the residents describe the arrangement as “disorder” compared to the bush dwellings. They explain that this “disorder” creates social conflict between people living in neighbouring plots, and that this conflict was one of the main factors that motivated them to move away from the resettlement site to bush dwellings.

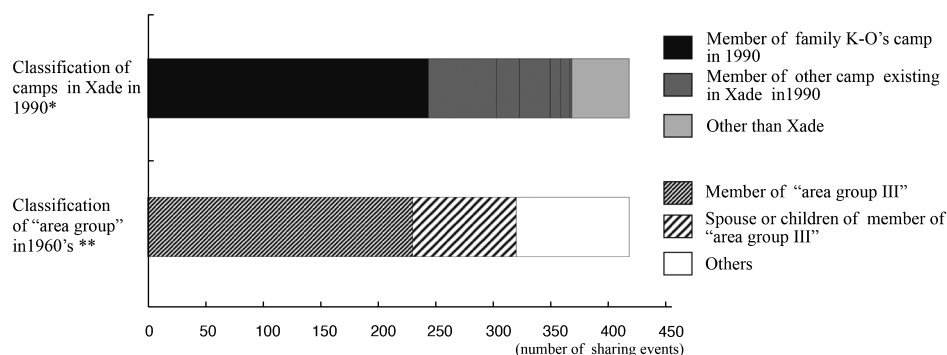


Fig. 4. Relationship between family K-O and their “important sharing partners”

Source: Field research between 16/11/2000 and 15/12/2000, and 22/11/2003 and 23/12/2003, *Imamura (personal communication) and **Tanaka (1980)

4. CONTINUITY AND FLEXIBILITY

As time proceeds after the relocation, how have these grouping patterns developed in response to the new dimensions of Kx'oensakene? In this final section,

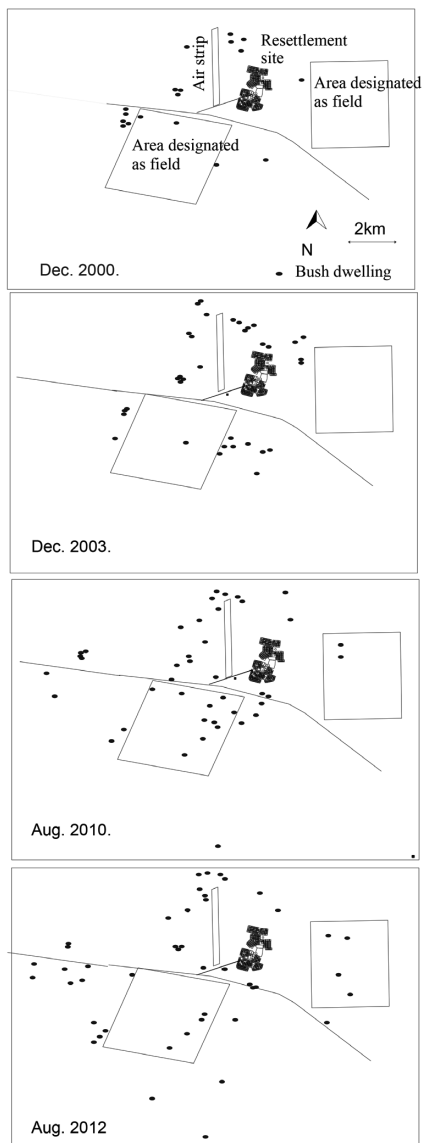


Fig. 5. Increasing number of bush dwellings
Source: GPS data

the Glui and Glana's social relationships and residential practices are analysed from a longer-term perspective. Over time, the number of bush dwellings has been increasing, and the area used for the dwellings has expanded. The location of all bush dwellings in 2000, in 2003, in 2010, and the latest data collected in 2012 are shown in Fig. 5. It has become clear over the years that an increasing number of Kx'oensakene residents are using bush dwellings as their living space. There exist active flows of people back-and-forth between the residential plots and bush dwellings, and frequent location shifts of the bush dwellings.

From a long-term perspective, the locations and members of the bush dwellings have not remained fixed, but have shifted every few months or years in search of natural resources or good neighbours. As Fig. 6 shows, following their own form of land usage as described by Nakagawa (1997) and Nonaka (2014), the groups have not intermingled but use, mainly, the space oriented in a certain direction when they shift the location of their bush dwelling. Nevertheless, the area utilised by dwellings is not fixed in advance, but is always under negotiation with neighbouring groups. Consequently, the distribution pattern of the bush dwellings changes slightly over time. As the map from 2012 (Fig. 7) shows, the distribution of the bush dwellings has retained its former spatial pattern in the CKGR, but has gradually changed shape, as compared to the map from 2003 (Fig. 2).

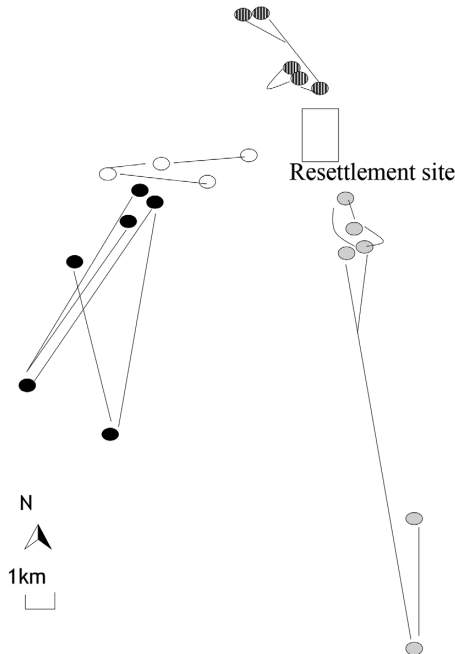


Fig. 6. Location shift of bush dwellings
Source: GPS data from Aug. 2000 to Mar. 2004

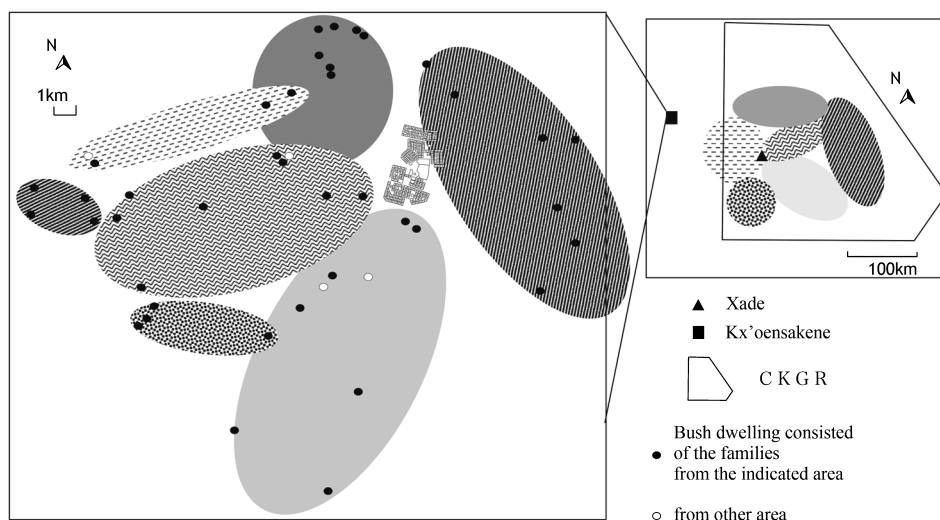


Fig. 7. Spatial distribution of bush dwellings in 2012 and their home area in CKGR
Source: GPS data from Aug. 2012

In addition, the membership of each residential group is always open to negotiation, and changes in response to a variety of situations, while the solidarity of the traditional co-residential grouping is maintained. The following case of family K-O clearly illustrates the continuity and flexibility.

In 2006, family K-O moved from Plot 9 to a newly established bush dwelling to take care of their increasing number of cattle and goats. A study of the family's food sharing in the bush dwelling over the course of 1 week revealed that, among the 10 persons who shared food with family K-O at an above average frequency in 2003, 8 of these persons still shared food with family K-O during the 2006 research period. With the exception of one person living in a next bush dwelling, the remaining 7 persons lived in their plots in the resettlement site that was about 3 km from K-O's bush dwelling. Despite this, they still visited one another and maintained their mutual cooperation ties.

Furthermore, in 2006, K's father's brother's daughter, classified as "sister" in their kinship terms, C, and her family moved into family K-O's bush dwelling and helped with herding K-O's livestock. Although K and C had lived together when they were young, in recent years they had had little interaction. However, as family K-O grew richer, with their increasing numbers of livestock, C strengthened and renewed relationships with family K-O. In this way, it appears that C's family attempted to benefit from the distribution of family K-O's wealth, and that K-O welcomed this.

In 2010, family K-O was based mainly in Plot 9, but sometimes spent time in their bush dwelling. They continued to maintain the relationships with the sharing partners ascertained in 2003. In addition, C's older brother, T, and O's mother's sister's son, "brother" P moved into family K-O's bush dwelling, in the same way as C had done earlier.

In the same year, K's younger sister, B, moved to Molapo, located in the eastern part of the CKGR, with her husband, who filed the lawsuit of the 2006 court case. The parents of K-O's first daughter's husband also moved back to Molapo. K-O and their daughter helped to take care of their livestock, which remained in Kx'onesakene. K could explain his family relations with those who were officially allowed to stay in the CKGR, therefore his "short visit to relatives" in Molapo was accepted. He was able to enjoy the hunting and gathering life with his sister and affine in the CKGR, even if it was for only a limited time.

As this case clearly shows, the solidarity with those who used to be co-residents of the same camp has been maintained for more than 15 years after the relocation. Simultaneously, the Glui and Glana sometimes strengthen relationships with those with whom they used to have less interaction, reflecting the changes in the new social setting. In particular, following the relocation, with the progress of the development programme and the political movement of indigenous land rights to the CKGR, tensions have appeared among the Kx'oesankene residents. The long-term development programme has created an economic gap between wealthy and poor, and the court ruling has caused division and conflict within the Kx'oensakene community, dividing it into those who could and those who could not return to the CKGR.

There are a few Glui and Glana who were involved in numerous development projects and/or engaged as well-paid salaried workers. These newly-emerged rich did not use all of the wealth they acquired to develop their lives as the government had intended; some of them improved their lives in the bush dwellings. They attempted to keep more livestock or to cultivate larger agricultural fields than required for consumption, with the aim of converting the surplus to cash. Recently, there have been numerous cases of the founders of bush dwellings being relatively rich, and their poorer relatives moving to their dwellings to share their wealth. In some of these cases, they have strengthened their extended family ties, even if they previously had little interaction before the relocation, such as the case of the relationship between family K-O and C.

In addition, the court judgment in 2006 has created new tensions. In the first stage, the returnees to the CKGR were limited to only those individuals who were named in the lawsuit and had sufficient wealth to arrange for their own transportation, water and other necessities to live in the reserve. The majority of people did not consider returning to the CKGR, but reluctantly remained in the Kx'oenshakene resettlement. Some were afraid to go to the CKGR because they were not among the applicants entitled to return, whereas others found that they could not make a living in the reserve without government services. The ruling created a significant divide within the Kx'oensakene Glui and Glana community (Pelican & Maruyama, 2015). However, the Glui and Glana have gradually found a compromise solution in this limiting situation. Many residents who were not allowed to formally return to the CKGR have started to visit their relatives or friends in the CKGR, as the officers sometimes accept their "short visits to relatives". They share vehicles, visit several camps in the CKGR, and live there for just a few weeks. During the visit, CKGR residents provide wild foods, and Kx'oensakene residents share pension money or food aid from the government

with them. In such circumstances, the Glui and Glana do not limit relations to those of former co-residence groups, but extend their kinship or affinal relations to help each other, as the case of K shows.

It was stated above that, 15 years after the relocation, the solidarity based on the experiences of living together in the same camp still plays a key role in land usage for bush dwellings and food sharing and cooperation. At the same time, the flexibility of the Glui and Glana's form of social grouping has also been demonstrated. This flexibility has facilitated physical and social mobility between the resettlement site and the CKGR, as well as between the rich and poor.

5. CONCLUSION

Relations based on the experience of previously shared camps frequently occupy a core part of the social relationships among the Glui and Glana, despite the fact that residential settings have changed significantly. Tanaka (1980) suggested that "clusters of families" may continue to exist over a long period and play an important role in the structure of Glui and Glana residential grouping. In addition, Sugawara (1988) concluded that this basic characteristic of the traditional grouping patterns, with distinctive clusterisation, has persisted following the sedentarisation scheme initiated in Xade. Following these studies, the present study demonstrates that the basic social grouping patterns have been sustained even after relocation from their home area.

It should be noted that these grouping patterns are always based on the accumulation of experiences of living and doing things together, and do not work as regulations that control or constrain the social life of the Glui and Glana. Rather, the patterns maintain space for free negotiation and involve the preservation of individual autonomy. This flexibility plays a greater role in avoiding the creation of rigid social relationships and easing tensions within the community. While stronger pressure for sedentarisation has been imposed on this society, the Glui and Glana continue to attempt to maintain a certain degree of their residential mobility, and this flexible mobility enables them to cope with uncertain political and economic conditions.

It is noteworthy that currently the Glui and Glana are not officially permitted to make camps as residential groups with a specific spatial coherence, given that camping together had formerly provided the Glui and Glana with a sufficient basis for mutual cooperation. Therefore, the bush dwellings were created as alternative living spaces, and the relations that have been formed by the accumulated experiences of camping together are maintained by frequent food sharing and cooperation. In this regard, the current approaches of the Glui and Glana to their social relationships differ from their traditional camp-based relations in their nomadic days. However, their retained affiliations with their traditional co-residential groups have brought a degree of social order to the "disordered" space created by the development programme, resulting from a lack of understanding of Glui and Glana society.

Sugawara (1988: 206) redefined band as "the range of people who recognise

one another as potential co-residents” and concluded that, “The band exists not in the domain of objective entity, but in the domain of intersubjective consensus.” In this regard, the “band” still survives in Glui and Glana society in Kx’oensakene, in spite of the fact that “camp” as a visible residential unit has vanished.

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